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ABSTRACT

This document reviews the concept of government within the university structure. Three phases of university government are discussed. The first section concerns the distribution of power within the university. Power competition among (a) trustees and administrators, (b) faculty, and (c) students is reviewed. The second section looks closely at the end purposes of this struggle for power and the objectives of administration within a university. The third section indicates factors necessary to provide a working framework of government within the university. The factors involve purpose, organization of decisionmaking, administration and financing. (MJM)

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Government in the American University

John D. Millett

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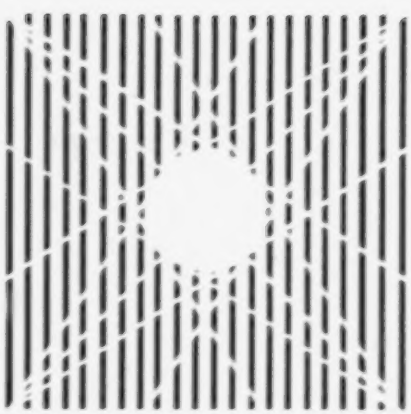

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Introduction

Government is purpose and process. Government is the means to ordered rule. Government fixes relationships between those who govern and those who are governed. Government determines or influences the behavior of the individual in society. Government is a phenomenon of political society and of private associations in society.

Too many discussions of government, I think, concentrate upon process rather than upon purpose, upon means rather than upon objectives. Government is an essential element of civilized or technical society simply because it performs an indispensable role. Historically, political government appeared in society as man moved from a hunt economy to an agrarian economy. It was an agrarian economy which produced the surplus to support a priestly caste and then a ruling caste of king, aristocracy, clerks and military. I think we may say that it was an agrarian economy which made these new castes necessary in society. And it was an agrarian economy which produced writing, history, and civilization.

As economies have become more and more complicated, moving from agrarian to handicraft to trade to industry to technology, the purpose of government has become more and more indispensable. Such purpose is well set forth in the preamble of the United States Constitution. These purposes were to provide for the common defense, establish justice, promote the general welfare, ensure domestic tranquility, and to secure the blessings of liberty. Never were the ends of government set forth with greater clarity, with more careful precision, or with loftier ideals than in our own American document of constitutional prescription.

In a society where government is not all powerful

nor all competent, in a society where polity is not synonymous with all associational activity of man, we have learned to draw a distinction between government on the one hand and social organization on the other hand. When we say that American society is pluralistic in structure, we are simply saying that there are many groups in our society and that these groups are not controlled by government or subordinate to government. There can be separation of church and state only in a pluralistic society. There can be separation of economy and the state only in a pluralistic society. There can be separation of voluntary associations and the state only in a pluralistic society. And, incidentally, there can be separation of higher education and the state only in a pluralistic society.

Because government and society are not one and the same array of social organizations in our pluralistic society, we have learned that government as a process and government as the exercise of power are not peculiarly the province of our polity. There is political government, there is economic government, there is religious government, there is labor union government, and there is university government. There is the politics of the state as the representation of the sovereignty of a national society, and there is the politics of economic units, the politics of religious units, the politics of many other groups, and the politics of universities.

Tradition, or the sense of historical development and commitment, is a vital part of the political culture of a society. I use the word "culture" here in its broadest sense, in the sense of the pattern of human behavior in its various social relationships. No one can expect to understand the American structure of government without a firm grasp of the American political tradition, a firm grasp of the ideas and the ideals which have motivated the historical experience of our nation. Similarly, no one can expect to understand the modern American university without a firm grasp of the historical experience of the colonial college, of the college

of the first two-thirds of the Nineteenth Century, of the emergent university, and of the "multiversity" in the second half of this century. No social enterprise is the peculiar creation of a particular time and place. Historical perspective is prologue to an understanding of the present.

In addition, in our time we are learning that our pluralistic social tradition needs redefinition to describe the reality of our present society. There is always a tendency for man to romanticize the past, to find in the contemplation of a bygone time virtues of comfort, security, and morality which appear badly dissipated in the present. I suspect it is easy to exaggerate the pluralism of American society in the immediate post-revolutionary years or in the era of rapid industrialization between the Civil War and World War II. But surely it is clear today that of our varied and numerous social institutions, government of our polity has become more than a first among equals. In a society which still aspires to freedom, justice, and liberty, we expect government to do more and more to provide for our national defense and to promote our general welfare.

The result is that our intellectuals now write about the decline of pluralism, our business leaders bemoan the growing interference of government, our citizens complain of the ever rising cost of government, and our university presidents speak of the erosion of university autonomy. Yet, on the other hand, there are religious leaders who want government assistance in their educational endeavors, there are community leaders who want more government assistance in meeting the problems of poverty and of racial discrimination, there are businessmen who want more tariff protection or price stability, and there are college and university presidents who want more government support.

The subjects of the historical tradition of the university and of the possible decline of pluralism in American society are too extensive to receive the consideration

they deserve here. It is sufficient to note that the university in the United States has been closely integrated with social developments in this country. It is sufficient to note that the university in the United States has sought to be part of a pluralistic pattern of social organization, important to the welfare of that society but not necessarily an instrument of political government. Today, the American university is experiencing considerable stress because its social obligations are uncertain, while its economic welfare is increasingly dependent upon government. It is not easy to define role or responsibility in a bi-polarized world of competing nations or in a bi-racial population where discrimination occurs.

It is customary to point out that the American university is of two fundamental types: the so-called private university and the state university. The differences between these two types are matters of degree. The board of trustees of a private university is usually self-perpetuating. The board of trustees of a state university is usually appointed by the governor. The private university and the state university have equal access to the resources of the federal government, but the private university is more dependent upon student fees than the state university, which depends in large measure upon state legislators for its instructional support. The private university, moreover, has been more successful in cultivating gifts and bequests from business corporations and from individuals of substantial wealth.

Yet, in spite of these differences, which have some importance, the privately sponsored university and the state-sponsored university in the United States of America have much in common. Both are necessarily closely related to the society which they serve. Both have common purposes to achieve. Both have encountered similar problems of internal government.

In undertaking to discuss government *within* the university, I can give only passing mention to the ex-

ternal pressures upon the university. These pressures are real. These pressures are increasing rather than diminishing as our American universities seek more money and wish to be ever more affluent. If society through its organs of political decision-making is to provide more funds for the capital improvement and the current operations of our universities, then there are certain social obligations which accompany that increased subsidy. These social obligations, moreover, will tend to be defined by the politically powerful groups in society and by the inclinations of the electorate. It is difficult to see how these obligations can be avoided or ignored when the financial welfare of the university is involved.

I

I wish to begin with some observations upon the subject of the distribution of power within a university. Let us bear in mind that power is the capacity or authority to prescribe or to influence the behavior of those who comprise a social grouping. The opposite of power is anarchy, the absence of power which permits the individual to act as he pleases, even when that act may destroy the life and property of other individuals. Society means power in some degree; government as we noted earlier is ordered rule in social endeavor and in social relationships.

An eminent American political scientist who was to become president of a university, governor of a state, and president of the United States wrote in the 1880's that the phenomenon of power should not be an object of fear for Americans. The proper cause for concern was the possibility of irresponsible power. In a society of democratic traditions and aspirations, this is a sound warning voiced many years ago by Woodrow Wilson.

It is not easy, however, to determine in a society how best to keep political power within some reasonable limits, or how best to ensure that the exercise of power shall be politically responsible. Periodic election of representatives by voters who have an element of choice and an element of freedom in determining that choice is our accepted procedure in political society. In other institutions, we think of competition as the essential means whereby each enterprise demonstrates responsible behavior. In a university, responsible power is primarily a moral concept: a concept of trusteeship and a concept of professional ethics.

Unfortunately, I think we must conclude for a variety of reasons that this traditional concept of responsible power within the university is not operative. Rather, what we observe today is competing groups each holding some degree of power and tending to compete with other

groups for additional power. Internally, the American university today is not an enterprise or part of an institution with a well defined system of power or with a procedure for ensuring the exercise of power in a way responsible to some defined social grouping.

When I wrote the little volume, *The Academic Community*, published in 1962, I identified four different groups within the university with somewhat different identities and interests. These groups were: (1) trustees and administrators, (2) faculty, (3) students, and (4) alumni. If I were writing this book today, I would omit alumni from this particular enumeration and include them as one of the several external publics concerned with the university. As the fourth internal group, I would now give separate recognition to the operating staff of the university.

Before I consider further the power competition of these groups, let me hasten to point out that university power is at best considerably restricted. A university is not a self-sustaining enterprise insofar as its financial support is concerned. A public university is always subject to restrictive legislation. A private university may be obligated to observe certain restrictions of a sponsoring religious body. Universities are subject to continuing public scrutiny, and public favor or disfavor may be expressed in a variety of ways. While, internally, various groups are struggling for power, this power itself is by no means unlimited.

There are certain differentiating characteristics which tend to give separate identity to each of these four constituent parts of a university: trustees and administrators, faculty, students, and operating staff. Each group may tend to see the university in a different perspective, and to expect somewhat different results from the university operation. Indeed, I am disposed to say that the struggle for power among these groups within the university reflects in large part differences of conception about the mission of the university in contemporary society.

Trustees of a university in this country have been traditionally vested with the authority of government over the university enterprise. Some faculty members point out that trusteeship has been unknown in the older British universities of Oxford and Cambridge and has been unknown in the organization of certain European universities such as those of France and Germany. What these faculty members ignore is the history of trusteeship in the Scottish universities, as pointed out by Professor W. H. Cowley of Stanford. They also ignore the Napoleonic principle of government which dispensed with trustees in favor of a central political ministry of education. Indeed, until the government of France began some tentative steps at reorganization in 1968, the university structure in France had remained almost unaltered since the days of Napoleon.

Trusteeship is a form of political or social leadership for a university. In the case of the state university, the boards of trustees are a politically selected body with a political role to perform: viz., to make sure that the university fulfills its public purpose and at the same time to provide some degree of insulation from the political passions of the moment which may gather around the university. In a privately sponsored university, the board of trustees has a similar role to perform, although the board may define purpose and provide insulation in the larger context of a pluralistic society rather than in the narrower context of state government itself.

In large part, the administrative staff of a university, from president to department chairman and from vice presidents for operations to supervisors, is the extension of the personality of the trustees. Administrators define the major issues which confront a university as an enterprise and then recommend to the trustees the policies and programs to guide these operations. In turn, it is the administrative staff which performs these operations.

It is customary today to criticize boards of trustees of universities upon the grounds that trustees as individuals tend to be the successful and influential business

and professional leaders of our society, plus religious leaders in private universities. More recently, we are finding a small number of women, labor leaders, political leaders, and even academic leaders included in the membership of boards of trustees. It is said that trustees represent the conservative, affluent, civic-minded element in our society, but that they seldom understand or sympathize with the disadvantaged groups in our society: the poor, the Black, the social reformers. And, of course, students maintain that trustees do not represent them!

The facts about the composition of boards of trustees are quite well documented from several studies. The argument is how to interpret the facts. To some, the nature of boards of trustees suggests a conspiracy on the part of certain elements in society to dominate and control the university. To some, the nature of boards of trustees is proof positive that universities are primarily committed to meeting the staffing needs of business, industry, and the professions. Why this last commitment should be a matter of suspicion or criticism, I confess my inability to understand.

In any event, let me generalize from my experience and acquaintanceship to say that I have found trustees for the most part men and women of intelligence, of dedication to public service, and of tolerance. There are exceptions, and no two persons who serve as trustees of universities are ever alike. Moreover, I have found just as many men in their seventies who were mentally alert and flexible in attitudes as I have found men of the same age inclined to be opinionated and set in their ways.

One possible criticism I would make of trustees today is that the nature of the university enterprise compels boards of trustees to rely heavily upon the advice of university administrators. Trustees who would exercise an independent judgment upon the complex university issues of our time would have to devote more time to university affairs than they have available. Furthermore, trustees who do not accept the advice of the

principal administrative officers will necessarily have to find a new president and staff. In this day and age, this is no small task, trying to find a new university president.

I think it is safe to say that trustees serve primarily as a concerned body of lay citizens to give advice and to express caution to the administrative staff. Trustees serve as a link between university and society. But beyond this role, trustees are not now prepared by experience, temperament, and ability to exercise any greater authority in the university community.

Administrators in our universities occupy a position at once of great importance and great limitation. In the past five years in particular, academic administrators have been subject to more internal criticism and vituperation than at any preceding period in our national history. It is becoming increasingly difficult for a university president to be both a manager and an educational leader.

A number of years ago former President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University asked the question whether the academic president was an educator or a caretaker. Mr. Dodds suggested that increasingly the president was a caretaker of the university enterprise rather than an educational leader. There seemed to be two reasons for this trend. The administrator's job as chief custodian of the university community demanded more and more attention, while faculty and students were more and more inclined to resist presidential leadership. The trend which President Dodds observed at the beginning of the 1960's is even more pronounced as this decade comes to an end.

The president's role in a university has become almost impossible to perform because social expectations on the one hand and internal expectations of a very vocal element among faculty members and students are quite different. Under present arrangements, the president is the only person who can provide educational leadership for a university. But within the university

there are persons who reject this leadership, and do so with considerable noise. The president must look externally for university sustenance, but internally must try to promote harmony and peaceful relationships among warring groups. This is an assignment which few persons can fulfill.

Jencks and Riesman have written persuasively about the academic revolution of our day. They find this revolution in the changing status of the faculty member within the universtiy. They note the great expansion of knowledge in our generation, the growing specialization which permits the academic man to become a scholar-teacher in a narrow range of knowledge where administrator, amateur, and layman dare intrude only at their peril. The university has become the fountainhead of an age of technology, and the university faculty member has become the supreme technologist of our time. It is the university specialist who can master the intricacies of high energy physics, the synthesis of giant carbon molecules, the mysteries of the genetic code, and the abstractions of mathematics needed to express this new knowledge. Yet, upon this highly specialized knowledge and its application we have built space exploration, modern systems of communication, the high speed computer, the new materials of polymer chemistry, and the achievements of medicine, including family planning.

The highly specialized knowledge of our time has given us an age in which knowledge is the key to economic growth, technological advancement, professional practice, and national security. Ours is literally an age of knowledge. Productive endeavor of all kinds is no longer based upon accumulated experience and innovative chance but upon science and the application of science. While university scientists and university-educated scientists and engineers and others have been busy creating this new age of knowledge, other university faculty members, especially the humanists and the social scientists, have been alienated from the very society

their colleagues have done so much to build. It is in the university where the two cultures lamented by C. P. Snow are now trying to exist, one beside the other. The university is where humanist and social scientist lampoon the triumph of their academic brethren, as did Jacques Barzun when he wrote about science as "the glorious entertainment."

I do not wish to suggest that all humanists and social scientists are of one mind about the new age of knowledge. Nor do I wish to imply that scientists have not begun to raise some questions about their own achievements. Indeed, it is somewhat amusing to find some social scientists and scientists now professing a sensitivity about public morals long denied by their own intellectual premises. The fact is that an age of knowledge confronts problems, as has every age in man's recorded history, and that some faculty members — by no means a majority of them, I believe — seem to think that these problems are more overwhelming than any previously faced by man.

The university is above all else a collection of specialized scholars. Their scholarship gives them a primacy in the determination of educational policy on such subjects as who shall be educated in what knowledge for which utility. But, simultaneously, the university faculty member finds himself tempted by a new revolution, by an inclination to say how society shall make use of the knowledge which the university has generated.

To this present faculty concern must be added the activism of a new student generation. After some hesitation I find myself driven to the conclusion that this is indeed a new student generation, different from any which has preceded it. There has always been a gap between student and faculty in our universities, and between the student and the society which has nurtured him. But the gap which exists today is more pronounced, more far-reaching, I believe, than any our academic ancestors knew.

The student activist of our day is the product, it appears, of an affluent economy, a permissive family life, and a heightened awareness of individuality. This student generation has not known the pervasive restriction of economic depression, known by my student generation of the 1930's. This student generation has not known the discipline of family life engulfed in the puritan tradition and the ethic of work. This student generation has not known the emotional fervor of war against tyranny. Rather, this is a generation supplied with economic abundance. Rather, this is a generation alienated from family cohesion and supervision. Rather, this is a generation which sees war not as a crusade for freedom but as a threat to human existence or as the subjugation of a weaker people.

The student activist of our day is not preoccupied with intellectual achievement but rather with the search for identity. As one academic philosopher has observed with great insight, this generation is no longer enamored of the basic question which has troubled western thought since the days of Socrates and Plato. That question was: What is man? And we have sought the answer in the abstractions of thought and in the generalizations of experience. Today's activist student has gained his inspiration from the existentialist, and asks: "Who am I?"

And the student activist of our day sees the university not as preparation for participation in society but as an instrument of power with which to dominate society. The student activist sees injustice in a technological society which has no place for the uneducated and no machinery for sharing its abundance with the poor and the Black. The student activist is impatient with a university which says prepare yourself for a profession and then as an active practitioner of your profession seek the means to abolish poverty and to mitigate racial discrimination.

When the student activist of our day looks inward, he finds the university tending to assert a kind of paren-

tal authority over his personal life and morals which many families no longer maintain. Perhaps because universities are notoriously slow to change their ways, they have been rather tardy in adapting their environment to the permissive practice so prevalent in family life. Another reason for this slowness has been the wish by many parents that universities would find the means to control their children since they themselves had been unable to do so. But adaptation of the university environment to the new generation of students is in process, and will, I think, continue.

The operating staff of our universities is made up of the custodians, the maintenance workers, the skilled tradesmen, the cooks and food handlers, the stationary firemen of central heating plants, the grounds workers, and the other operating personnel of a university. Here the cause of dissatisfaction has been the low rate of hourly remuneration for so many of these workers. And the response has been unionization.

These, then, are the component groups of the university community, each seeking to hold or to obtain some degree of power within the university. This, if you please, is the cast of characters. It is no exaggeration to say that these groups are engaged in a struggle for power. In a larger sense, this struggle for power is in reality a conflict about government. Each group seeks a structure of government responsive to its particular felt needs.

It is recognized that the power of government is vested in trustees and administrators, and this arrangement is to a considerable extent unacceptable to some number of persons who make up the faculties, the students, and the operating personnel of our universities. In consequence, some restructuring of the university, some redistribution of power, is the essence of the internal political process now going on within the university.

II

It is time to turn from the identification of the power groups within a university and to look more closely at the end purposes of this struggle for power. It is my thesis that in large measure the objectives of this struggle for power are vague, are inadequately formulated. No doubt many would disagree with this proposition. Yet, I find it exceedingly difficult to find more than a list of grievances or a psychological analysis of why some students and some faculty members behave as they do. I find these psychological analyses fascinating to read. But a psychological analysis is not a structure of government.

We may look at the objectives of the operating personnel rather quickly, not because these objectives are unimportant but because they are fairly precise. In the tradition of the American labor movement, the unionization effort among the operating personnel of our universities has a fairly simple purpose. The goals are higher wages and improved working conditions. The means to these ends are unionization, union recognition, and collective bargaining. It is assumed that the administration element of the university is similar to management within a business enterprise or an industry, and demands for higher wages and improved working conditions can be fulfilled if the demands are presented forcefully and backed up with the threat of a strike to halt operation.

The question is seldom asked about the nature or source of the income required to meet these labor demands. In the public universities labor leaders insist that the legislative branch should appropriate the necessary funds. In the private universities unions assume that somehow the income can be found. It is almost never suggested that students should pay higher fees or that faculty members should forego salary increases in order to meet the wage needs of the operating personnel.

It seems clear to me that in the public universities in particular this effort at unionization will continue and that the universities are going to be hard pressed to satisfy these demands within the traditional procedures of the labor movement.

The objectives of administration within a university are two-fold: (1) to preserve the university as a viable enterprise, and (2) to ensure that the university fulfills its social obligations. In endeavoring to carry out these purposes, administration in a university operates an extensive apparatus essential to maintain the university as an on-going endeavor. In addition, administration in a university seeks to provide the leadership within the academic community which constantly reminds the constituent groups that service to society is the price of society's financial support of the university.

No enterprise can survive in the organizational society of our day without a considerable number of internal services, without careful management of limited resources, and without careful planning to meet future expectations. A university must have physical facilities, and these must be maintained. A university must collect its accounts, keep proper financial records, and pay its bills. A university must purchase supplies, afford communication services to its staff, and obtain necessary utility services. None of these "housekeeping" chores is accomplished without continuing direction. No one will long remain associated with an enterprise that cannot or does not maintain itself.

Moreover, those who manage the administrative apparatus of a university, or of any enterprise, must necessarily have substantial influence in the internal power structure of the organization. It is wishful thinking to believe that internal housekeeping will take care of itself. This is simply not so. Housekeeping must be watched over all the time and the services rendered must facilitate accomplishment of the basic or substantive objectives of the enterprise.

Beyond the housekeeping chores, university administration seeks to provide the educational leadership which will mobilize the talents and resources of the university in the performance of the instructional, research, and public service objectives of the institution. These objectives must be continually emphasized; they must also be accomplished if the university is to lay claim to being an effective enterprise in our society.

I have already noted that trustees and administrative staff constitute the linkage between university and society. I have also observed that leadership in the academic community is rendered difficult because there are persons within the university who will not accept that linkage.

Leadership rests upon two foundations: the expectations or aspirations and the value judgments of those who make up a particular group. Leadership seeks to inspire the long-range self-interests of the group; on occasion, leadership may appeal to the altruistic sentiments of the group. On occasion, leadership may propose no more than the immediate gratification of the emotions of fear and hostility which are so close to the surface in human behavior.

Educational leadership is in crisis in America today because there are divergent groups in a university who lack a commitment to a common set of values and who lack a conception of common self-interest. I think it may fairly be said that in our national society as a whole the prevailing concept of the purpose of education is one of preparation of individuals for productive participation in the national economy. This concept of purpose prevails, I believe, among the most powerful and influential persons in our society: managers of large corporations, prominent professional practitioners, newspaper editors and publishers, other managers of the mass media of communication, political leaders, governmental administrators, and, yes, labor leaders as well. For higher education in particular, this concept of purpose means the education of individuals for the professions of society.

I believe the conviction is widely held in our society that professions contribute notably to national economic progress, to the advancement of technology, to the solution of pressing public problems, and to the international security of the nation. It is this social conviction which has induced our governments — federal, state, and local — and which has induced individuals — parents, students, alumni, and philanthropists — to contribute substantially to the economic support of higher education. Moreover, the facts are clearly evident that professions generally tend to be quite well remunerated in our country.

Yet, there are faculty members and students who are not particularly interested in the commitment of the university to contribute manpower to the professions of our national economy. They profess indifference to their own personal remuneration or affluence and insist that they have no interest in contributing to economic growth. Rather, they hold that the affluent society is immoral, internationally arrogant, and unjust to Blacks. Education in this view should be committed to one and only one purpose: social change. The university should not be allied with the power structure of society but should undertake the overthrow of that power structure. The role of the university, in this view, is revolutionary.

I want to emphasize that only a small number of faculty members in our universities hold any such revolutionary view of the purpose of higher education. The persons in our faculties who see the university as an agency of social change often make up in the volume of their protests what they lack in numbers. And the tradition of academic freedom in the university gives every individual not just the opportunity to be heard but often the opportunity to be heard several times.

There is also a number of students who are discontented with the university as it now operates. These students tend to see the university as exercising authority over their personal lives, and they resist this authority with vigor. On this matter, a goodly number of

students may be joined together in common cause. These are the student activists of our day. There is a still smaller group of students, the militants of our time, who espouse the revolutionary view of the university, and would either convert the university to a revolutionary role or destroy the university in the process of revolt. Indeed, it may well be said that destruction is more likely to be accomplished than revolution.

I believe our society as now structured cannot and will not permit the role of the university as educator of professional talent to be subverted. There may be a period of storm and stress. And the constructive purpose of the university as social critic may be lost or badly eroded in the course of the conflict. Please note, I referred to constructive criticism, not to revolution. The line of distinction may be somewhat difficult at times to draw, but I believe such a line can and must be drawn.

There is a fatal defect in the faculty struggle for power within the university. That faculty members should want greater recognition of their indispensable participation in the university is understandable. That faculty members should seek a more widely acknowledged status in the academic community is reasonable. That faculty members are interested in more generous remuneration is to be expected, although the current remuneration is not so unsatisfactory as some would imply. But participation, status, and remuneration for faculty members within the university is not a system of government. The theory seems to be that the faculty must have more power in order to obtain greater status. Perhaps so. But power carries with it the obligations of structuring a process of government and of guiding that government toward clearly avowed purposes.

I have searched diligently among the faculty-authored literature of our day to find some clue of the purpose of faculty government and some idea of the structure of faculty government needed to accomplish

that purpose. I can find no widely accepted purpose except that of enhanced status, and I can find no structure of government except a vague insistence upon participation.

When I look through all the student literature of our day — it may more properly be described not as literature but as strident scatology — again I find dissatisfaction with the authority of administration and with the so-called "irrelevance" of faculty instruction. But I find nothing in the way of a structure of government other than a demand that students sit on administrative and faculty committees.

The two most important university issues of our day are not debated fully or directly. These issues are the purpose of the university community and the financing of the enterprise. Faculty members seem to think that somehow, someway the administration will take care of the financing. And students seem to believe that the hated "father" element in society, either as a supreme act of masochism, or in expiation of accumulated sins, will continue to pay the bills for the university no matter how great the vituperation against present-day social practice. How self-deceived can students be?

III

As I have already observed, government is ordered rule. Government involves purpose, organs of decision-making, administration, and financing. If there is to be a new constitution for the government of a university, such a constitution will have to provide a framework of process responsive to these four requirements.

The administration element in our universities has possessed the power of government because it did provide in the past a sense of purpose, an effective mechanism for decision-making, an administrative apparatus, and some direction for financing of the university enterprise. If faculties and student bodies are now to assume a greater role in the governmental process of universities, then these groups must develop some sense of objective to be realized, an effective mechanism of decision-making, some method for directing the administrative apparatus for operation of the university, and a financial program.

The basic problem of government for both faculties and students is simply the absence of a will and a procedure for decision-making. It is relatively easy for groups of faculty members to be critical of the decisions made by those now exercising governmental authority. But what new organs of decision-making should be substituted for those with which we are now familiar within the academic community? This question may be equally addressed to faculty and students.

Moreover, I want to emphasize the importance and implication of this phrase "ordered rule." Decision-making involves the determination of objectives and of means for accomplishing those objectives within the university. Decision-making involves also the determination of standards or rules of behavior for all persons who make up the particular social enterprise, that is, the university. When decisions have been made about rules

of behavior, then a government must determine how its authority is to be executed and the sanctions to be applied in cases of violation of the rules. There cannot be ordered rule without authority and sanctions. As I have said, the alternative to ordered rule in society is anarchy, which means no society.

Participation in the present governmental structure of universities means various possible procedures. There may be an elaborate structure of consultation whereby recommendations for decisions are not presented to a board of trustees without a careful canvass of various points of view and without a full disclosure of the different attitudes or judgments which prevail within the university. Under this process, decisions may be delayed but eventually they will be made, and afterwards these decisions must be carried out.

Another possibility would be to recognize various areas of competent jurisdiction within the university. To a considerable degree, this is being practiced in fact if not in legal theory in many universities today. More and more issues of educational policy may be delegated to a faculty body to decide. More and more issues of student social conduct may be delegated to a student body to decide. Such delegation of a decision-making role to groups within a university is a workable procedure only under two conditions. The decisions thus made must be consistent with the basic purpose or mission of the university, must facilitate the accomplishment not the negation of that basic mission. Secondly, the decisions must be enforced, and aberrant behavior must be dealt with.

If participation is not the answer to a new process of government within the university, then some fundamental changes in structure will have to be made. It is these fundamental changes in structure which would provide a new constitution for the university enterprise. For myself, I must confess that I lack the innovative skill to foresee this new constitution with any clarity or precision.

I can conceive of a university which would be directed by the faculty as a kind of legislative body which would elect a prime minister from among its membership. Such a prime minister in turn might select ministerial colleagues to direct the principal administrative departments of the university: finance, public works, personnel, planning, and administrative services among the staff services and general education, biological sciences, physical sciences, humanities, social sciences, engineering, law, medicine, and others among the operating ministries. Such a parliamentary scheme of government would be unique. I hope it could be financed. I would like to see such a scheme attempted, particularly by those who don't like the present scheme of government.

In the parliamentary scheme just outlined, I have provided no place for students to be represented. This is obviously a weakness. And I am curious what faculty members think ought to be done with students, other than to get rid of them. Perhaps we ought to have a parliamentary scheme of government within a university based upon student power rather than faculty power. Then the faculty could become the civil servants hired by a student parliament. This would be an interesting governmental arrangement!

If our innovative capacity is exhausted by resort to this parliamentary model or analogy, the fault lies with the paucity of governmental mechanisms provided from historical experience. Arrangements for government have developed largely in recorded history from human experience, tempered only slightly by theory. If new forms of university government are to be created, they will probably evolve from felt needs, stimulated no doubt by various demands.

In the meantime, it seems to me that discussions of university government might concentrate attention upon two or three principal issues. What objectives or purposes should university government seek to achieve: an integration with society in its diversity and in its requirement for educated talent, or a separation from

society in a concern to advocate social change? Secondly, how is ordered rule to be achieved within the university community, realizing the minimum needs for social cohesion and social conformity? Thirdly, how is the university enterprise to be financed; what proportions of income can we reasonably expect from government, philanthropists, alumni, students, and other participants? We shall not have meaningful change in university government until we begin to seek answers to these questions.

Peter Drucker in a recent, perceptive little volume calls ours "The Age of Discontinuity." His analysis is both stimulating to thought and challenging to social action. The American university stands in the very middle of those forces producing this discontinuity in our past national, economic, and social experience. The university, too, will have to chart a new course, find a new heading in the storms of our day.

A new constitution of government for our university demands the dedication of wise, experienced minds. Revolutions destroy existing constitutions. The anarchy of revolution breeds excesses and reactions. From a time of trouble emerges a new constitution. The American Declaration of Independence was an act of revolution, not of government. The Federal Constitution was an act of government. Someplace beyond the 1776 of our day lies the hope of 1787 yet to come in the history of the American university.